1: Burrows--145 (1947-48) Woleaians
837 Ifalik

"Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce."

2; Damm et al. --76
116, 837, 684

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Adultery occurs. If a husband hears about it, he scolds, but does not strike his wife. The adulterer must pay a penalty in the form of loin aprons, wooden boxes, and small or large canoes.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 837, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 135: "The men live with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they are nursing the infant." "When a friend asks the hospitality of his friend, the latter offers him his wife for the time of his stay."

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 562, 837 Woleai

Mertens says that the women had a lot of freedom and that, as on Feis, they came on board alone without paying much attention to the men. Occasionally they pulled up alongside of the ship in their canoes and called the names of their friends. Everything needs their consent. On the other hand, men have been known to offer their wives to their overnight guests.

At meetings and on the occasion of visits of strangers, the women keep silent.

Lütke says that many terms are taboo (pennant) in the presence of women; in case of negligence, exile threatens the offender.

11; Born--180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
837 Woleai

Among the buildings of the Oleaï Islands, there are first of all the large houses, fal. Here the men spend the larger part of the day and night, a custom which is also found on Jap. However, the women and girls are also permitted to stay in the large houses, and the custom of keeping mongol, hetaerae, is not known here; in these two respects the houses here differ from those on Jap.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 837, 684 Woleai

Adultery among the inhabitants of the same island is not unusual and is not regarded as anything important since in that case the inhabitants consider themselves almost one family. If the offender comes from another island of the atoll, however, adultery is considered a serious crime and is revenged. As soon as a crime of this sort has been discovered, the word spreads to all the islands, and almost all the men sail to the island of the guilty man to punish him. They burn his house, cut down his breadfruit and coconut trees, and break his canoe, in short, he loses his fortune. There is never any corporal punishment.

13: Lutké--159
116, 837

(1827-1828) 1836

Woleaians
Woleai

The bizarre custom that rules in the Ouléaï group and which consists in the husband allowing his friend, if he is under his roof, to replace him for a night beside his wife, is absolutely unknown in the islands [AN: Murilo]...

17: Meinicke--384
116, 837, 572

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie alone... [LEM: a formal friendship] is carried so far that when one friend visits another he is loaned his wife.

28: Spiro--127 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 837, 548 Ifalik

"As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution. However, a woman might sell her favors. A man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him."

28: Spiro--131 [3]
116, 584, 848, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

28: Spiro--134-135
116, 586, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Divorce, zamotalax though its incidence is small, there being only eleven cases of 66 marriages studied in the geneologies, is very easy. The dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal proceedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. [1]. The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. [2]. One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. [3]. Either spouse is economically unskilled. The man is a poor provider. The woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband does not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. [4]. One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. 'No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?' An actual analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that four were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic, (malebush). Thus the man almost always divorces the woman. The actual reasons given for the divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse: four cases (2 men, 2 women)
Infidelity: three cases
Mental illness: two cases

Domestic ineptitude: one case (a woman)
Unknown: one case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are old and new mates of the same man and woman. They fish together, work together, care for each other's children, even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife, and who married her after her divorce, are warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every person--man and woman--has a lover. Now they may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of a personal projection.

Now, whether they do or do not have lovers is, of course, important, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of great psychological importance, since it shows that they think it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations

of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, was married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He was much in love with her, praised her highly, and was generally very affectionate towards her. One evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. I asked why he did not wish me to see her, and he finally confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me. (16)

There seems little doubt then that married people do have affairs. Its incidence, however, is in doubt, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that everyone, including one's own spouse, is having an affair with another person. And this knowledge

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"16. Later that evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus."

creates no apparent jealousy or anxiety. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an illicit aspersion on his sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know. But the theoretical knowledge of infidelity is not disturbing, the philosophy being, apparently, that what you don't know won't hurt you."